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372 two stones; the technique of making fire by the friction of two sticks was unknown.[1] The Tukuna described to me, also, how the ancients struck two stones (tɔ'a-ɨ̈ij"'ȧ) together, catching the sparks in tinder of *taracuá*, a substance found in the nests of *tracuá* ants.

[824] Some, however, still remember well the fire drill used for this purpose, which was made of white *envira* wood. The drill was a rod about sixty centimeters long, or a shorter piece enclosed in a stem of *canna brava*. The hearth was a small board of the same wood, which rested on two small sticks. The drill, rotated between the palms of the hands, pierced the little board, and the glowing powder fell through the hole upon the tinder beneath. This apparatus, say the Tukuna, was invented by the culture hero dyai'.

[291] Today, a wing of a parrot, forest turkey, buzzard, or royal hawk serves as a fire [412] fan; the shaft is sometimes wrapped in a piece of cloth and covered with wax. Among the Tukuna I have never seen any fire fans of vegetable material, but the Neobrazilians and the Kokáma use them exclusively.

All the members of the family capable of working in the garden patch always bring kindling wood when they return. If, in spite of this, there is no kindling, special trips are made for it.

[412] Fire tongs are unknown, but once I came across a sort of fork, formed of three [252] branches stemming from a single point, which served to arrange the coals and to place upon them a piece of meat for roasting. The fork was especially made for this purpose and had already been in use for some time.

352 The platform supported on four stakes is never found in the kitchen where things are laid on the ground or are hung from wooden N-shaped hooks thrust into the roof thatch. These hooks sometimes end in a bird's head and are called vẹ"kj'ča (see p. 142). Some of the kitchens, however, have a small platform suspended from the roof, on which dried meat, bananas, and other foods are stored.

[415] Jugs, bowls, and plates have their places on an outside platform (giráu), at the side of the shed. The jars (i.g., *igaçabas*), even when empty, are kept in the kitchen. They are turned upside down when not in use, and it is customary to store fruits, and so forth, under them in order to keep the food away from domestic animals and bats.

312 Although the Tukuna habitually obtain their drinking and cooking water from a clean spot, such as the center of the current, it bothers them little if the filled [271] containers remain for hours exposed to the rays of the burning sun. They drink little water, and one often finds the containers empty, but no one seems to feel the lack.

Utensils and containers.—All the Tukuna gourds, *cuias*, are made of shell of the 415 gourd (*cuieira*) and are generally covered on the inner surface, or in a few rare [386] instances on the outer surface as well, with a black lacquer of *cumatê* juice (fig. 2, *a*, *b*). Sometimes the outer surface is decorated with an indelible red paint, *urucú*, [531] in a design of palm trees and animals. There are large hemispherical gourds, smaller elliptical ones, and little, narrow, long ones.

In the kitchen one always finds a number of wooden ladles and spoons, sometimes of a respectable size containing almost a half liter; these represent a post-Columbian

[1] Tessmann, p. 561.

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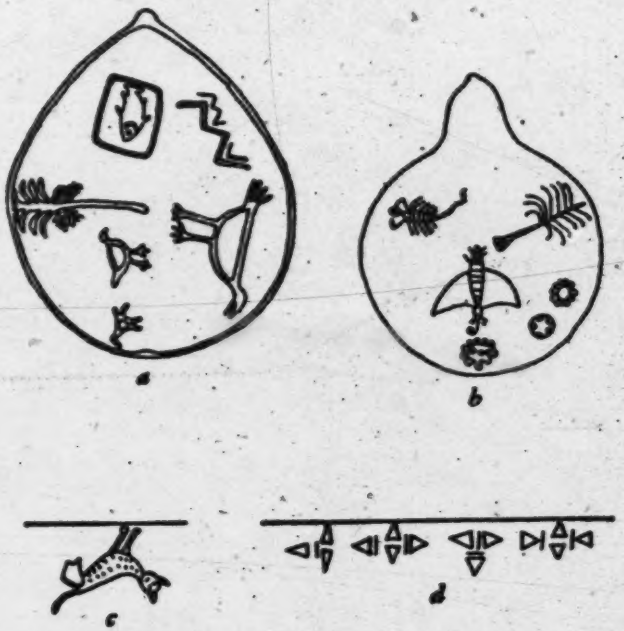

Fig. 2. Gourd decoration. *a*, *b*. Interior, red design on black background. *c*, *d*. Exterior, engraved edge patterns.

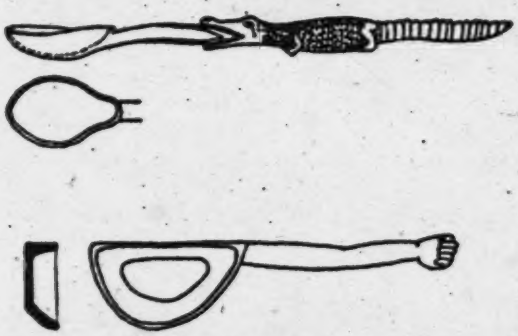

Fig. 3. Wooden spoons. × ⅛.

influence, as their Portuguese name, *colhér* (T., kuyə'ra), proves. The artistic impulse of the Tukuna has not, however, been limited to merely copying the European models; they frequently give these utensils fantastic and original shapes. There are double spoons of different sizes, with a bowl at each end of the handle; others with asymmetric, semicircular bowls; still others with the handle carved in the shape of an alligator, and so on. These spoons are also often painted with cumatê lacquer (fig. 3). There are always some spatulas for stirring the contents of the

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412 pots. Fermented drinks are often stirred with a shoulder blade of the manatee, *peixe-boi*. For *mingau*, a sweetened gruel, there is always a little swizzle stick made of arrow cane with a small cross of sticks lashed transversely to the end of the shaft.

415 The Tukuna still use three types of "primitive" containers. One consists of the outer shell of the *sacupoia* nut in its original form. Another is made from the spatulate end of the frondstalk of the *anajá* palm, which has the shape of an oval basin with noticeably raised edges; nothing is done to this either, to prepare it for use. A third is made from the leaf sheath of the *açahy* palm,[a] which is folded into the shape of a small, flat, rectangular box, about a half meter long, the folds being secured with two small, wooden spits.

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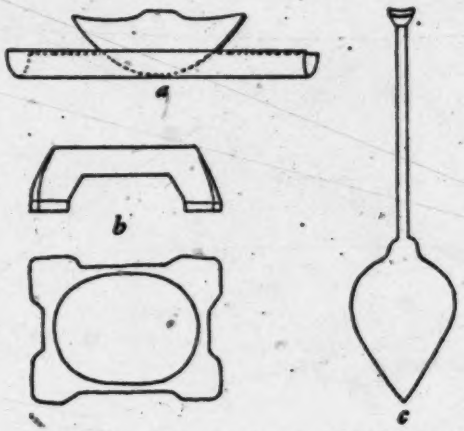

Fig. 4. Wooden objects. a. Quiricá or rocking board, × 1/20. b. Small bench, × 1/10. c. Paddle, × 1/20.

417 252 By the side of the kitchen fire one invariably sees a portable rack, *moquem*, for drying meat, made of three poles, each 1.5 m. long, tied together at the upper ends so as to form a tripod (kɔ'ya-čikɨra', jaw of alligator), between the legs of which the grill is tied. Any meat or fish to be dried is placed on this grill, which is then set over the fire or, if this is occupied, any handy kindling is piled beneath the tripod. Only if there is a large quantity of game or fish is a fixed grill set up, in which case it rests upon four posts and two crossbeams (na:'/tamɨ[a]).

The spit is rarely used, and then only to roast bits of small game. In order to handle fish easily on the grill the Tukuna press it between two prongs of a flat strip of wood, something like a pair of pincers. The prongs are passed through the fish's mouth and gills, and the ends are tied together just forward of the tail. Frogs, toads, Coleoptera larvae, shrimp, and small fry are placed on the grill wrapped in leaves, forming small packages tied at both ends.

412 [773] Contrary to what Tessmann says,[b] the Tukuna do not use the mortar, though it does appear in their legends as an object used by demons. For it the Tukuna substitute a rocking-board (tau/ta'-činç[a]ç[a]; l.g., *quiricá*) of half-moon shape made

[a] *Euterpe edulis*; also, *assahy*, *palmito doce*. The heart of this palm is eaten.
[b] Tessmann, *loc. cit.*

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of a heavy wood, *cumarú;* it is two fingers thick and as much as 80 cm. long (fig. 4, *a*), and with it they crush and mill the material in a long semicylindrical trough (tau/ta'), sometimes open at both ends. In this hod they often work with a short wooden pestle; I saw one which ended at the top in a sculptured human head.

The cook shed is also the place where they make dry manioc flour, *farinha de mandioca,* which is probably the Tukuna product most desired by the Neobrazilians today. Formerly, the Tukuna did not know how to use it, but for dry flour substituted *beijú,* a thin flat cake of fermented manioc dough baked on a clay slab. They also had a flour made of maize cracked by the heat of fire," which went by the name of a/tẽ'ẽ and was eaten with bananas.

The Neobrazilians probably taught the Tukuna how to make manioc dry flour, since so many of the Tukuna terms relating to it are Neobrazilian, for instance, the name of the product, ʊ:'i (l.g., *uí*), and of the utensils used in its manufacture: e.g., yapu'na, oven (l.g., *yapúna*), te'piti, press (l.g., *tipity*), kõẽʊ, hod for the dough (P., *cocho*).

I do not know what shape the earlier grater had; today it is invariably made of a punctured sheet of metal. There are still small graters which are made from the aerial root of the *paxiubinha,* and others made from the bony part of the tongue of the pirarucú, but they are no good for grating manioc roots; they are useful only in the preparation of certain medicines.

Like any other load, the manioc roots are brought from the garden patch in large conical baskets (pl. 4). These are made by the men—who, however, never use them—in an open-mesh technique, usually of split *cipó,* more rarely of uarumã stems. The Tukuna say that they learned to make this type of basket (vo'tura; Tupi, *waturá*) from the Omágua, who then made war against the Tukuna for copying an Omágua article. Formerly the Tukuna baskets were cylindrical, with a square bottom. All are carried with a tumpline of envira. Baskets of both types are in use today, although the first type predominates.

Aside from these carrying baskets, the Tukuna also have a large woven bag, ñẽ'/rį, closed by a drawstring passed through the mesh row of the opening; it often has a tumpline woven of the same material (pl. 7, *e*). This bag, *puçá,* with the mouth held open by a hoop of cipó or of elastic wood, also serves as a dip net. It is mentioned in the legend of the origin of culture heroes as one of two articles typically used by women and is one of the elements which the Tukuna share with the cultures of eastern Brazil and the Chaco.

Formerly, the Tukuna peeled manioc roots with the edge of a large bivalve shell, kɔru, common along the Solimões. This is used even today to scrape pineapples for the preparation of a cooling drink.

For soaking bundles of manioc roots in plain water the Tukuna invariably use an old canoe near the entrance to the house. The squeezed pulp from the press (tipity) is placed in a hod, open at both ends and set slightly inclined on two sawhorses. Nowadays, the Tukuna make "dry" farinha just as much as "wet"; they rarely bother with tapioca. The pulp is strained through square, large-meshed sieves made of strips of bamboo, *taboca,* or uarumã (ʊ:'i-čim|/|ⁿn).

For other purposes there is a small fine-meshed sieve, va'ira-čin|/|ⁿn (*vóira,*

[*] The word for popcorn, *pipocas,* was not used here.—Trans.

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248 Another plant that formerly furnished fibers is the mɔɔ'vɨ (*Bromelia* sp.; l.g., *curauá*);[1] they served especially for bowstrings and for lashing arrows.

[415] According to Bates the small bags (tu'/maka) with carrying strap were made of bromelia threads;[2] in them the hunter carried ammunition for his shotgun, and they also served as containers for trifles at home. Today, without exception, they are made of tucum fiber (pl. 7, *c*). Nowadays bromelia is only rarely cultivated, and then on a lesser scale as a medicinal plant.

177 After the beginning of commerce with the Neobrazilians, tobacco also was cultivated less frequently, and it has almost disappeared from Tukuna clearings. Its [249] old name was pɔ:'ri. Pre-Columbian occurrence is probable, since tobacco is used in Tukuna magic ceremonies. Aside from sugar cane and bananas, the Tukuna 241 adopted from the Neobrazilians only the watermelon, vɔ'račia (from the Portu- 177 guese *melancía*), and the squash, *jurumúm* (*Cucurbita maxima*), of which they make little use.

However, they cultivate almost all the Neobrazilian fruits,[3] planting around their houses mangoes (*Mangifera indica*, Reg.), avocados (*Persea gratissima*, Gaert.), *abiú*, *atta*, *biribá*, oranges, lemons, papayas (*Carica papaya* L.), guavas (*Psidium guayava*, Raddi), cashews (*Anacardium occidentale* L.), *bacuri*, and *ingá*. It is difficult to determine whether most of these fruit trees were cultivated by the Tukuna in pre-Columbian times. The genipa and the urucú figure in the legends of culture heroes; both are found in the house yards.

249 There are a great number of medicinal plants, many of them being cultivated 278 at the border of the house yard so as to be always at hand. For poisonous snake 757 bite the Tukuna apply a liquid prepared from the scrapings of a plant called a/tapë-arɨ-eɨ[a] (medicine of jararáca; *Bothrops jararaca*) boiled in water; they give the victim spoonfuls of this at intervals, until the symptoms subside. If the accident occurs in the jungle, far from home, the victim chews the green leaves of a common bush, swallowing the juice in order to retard the effects of the poison.

The bulb of a cultivated plant, dyaa'-arɨ-eɨ[a] (diarrhoea medicine) or pu:'čuí ("nightingale"), scraped and made into an infusion with cold water, is used for diarrhoea (dya'ɨ[a]). The dried leaves of čëë-arɨ-ęɨ (medicine for blows; čëë, blows), also cultivated, are tied over bruises which break the skin. For earache, the leaves of ñuma'čië-arɨ-ęɨ[a] (P., *trevo rouxo*, purple trefoil) are crushed to distill the juice, which is slightly warmed with a firebrand and introduced into the ear by a leaf rolled into funnel shape. This is also a cultivated plant.

The root scrapings of ę/tɨmaa (bitter; l.g., *gapuhy*; *Martinella obovata*) a solid-ground jungle cipó, are applied in the same way for conjunctivitis. If this remedy proves ineffective, an ash from the charred tip of the Mauritia palm, curauñ, is dropped into the eye; today this species is planted only for this purpose.

231 *Domestic animals.*—For domestic animals the Tukuna have only dogs, chickens, ducks, and, rarely, a cat (T., pe'cana; l.g., *pichano*). According to Tukuna belief, 235 chickens (ɔta', from the ancient Quechua, *atahuallpa*)[4] were caught somewhere in

[1] The term *curauá* is also used for a palm (*Mauritia curana*).—Trans.
[2] Bates, 2:403.
[3] See Glossary for species and description of these fruits.
[4] Nordenskiöld, Deductions Suggested by the Geographical Distribution of Some Post-Columbian Words Used by the Natives of South America, Comparative Ethnographical Studies, 5:17 ff.

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continued movement the sand widens and deepens the grooves, so that in time the binding has to be drawn tauter until finally the two sections of wood close completely about the cipó. This labor, which is very tiring since it lasts four days, is carried on invariably by two men, one standing on the platform, the other below, working just as if they were sawing boards in a sawmill.

Removing the grooved pieces from the scaffolding, but always keeping the cipó bound within, they untie and retie the lashings, section by section, reducing the piece to a round shape instead of the former square shape, the thickness varying from 1 to 1.5 cm. at the muzzle and from 3.5 to 4 cm. at the breech. They then cut off a section at each end—since here the abrasive action of the sand and movement always widens the bore a little too much—and with wax they firmly join the two halves. The two lengths they then bind spirally on the outside, from end to end, with a strip about 3 cm. wide from the smooth cipó guembé, and coat the whole with wax again.

At the breech they add a mouthpiece of *mkirapiranga* wood (*Cesalpinia echinata; condurú de sangue*) in the shape of a hollow spool. About 10 cm. from this they affix a sight made of wax, with a tooth of the squirrel, *acutipurú* (*Sciurus* sp.), set longitudinally with the convex side up.

Finally, they polish the barrel with a long wad of dried maize leaves with a cord tied at each end. Placing the blowgun in a horizontal position, two persons, each grasping an end of the cord, pull the wad back and forth through the bore until the desired result is obtained.

The Tukuna blowgun never has jaguar (*onça*) teeth at the mouthpiece as Tessmann was informed,[16] nor is the muzzle funnel-shaped, as in the plate of Barbosa Rodrígues.

In the house the blowgun is bound parallel to and pressed flat against a roof pillar, where it is tied at the top and bottom by two loops of cord. In order to remove any curvature, small wedges are inserted at the precise spot necessary between the weapon itself and the post to which it is lashed. When the weapon is not in use, the cleaning rod is generally left inside it.

I greatly admired the agility of the Tukuna in running through the jungle with this weapon, for its length makes it a clumsy thing to carry, and it is too fragile to stand strong knocks. But the Indians shift it from above the head to one side or the other, never knocking it against a tree trunk, and do not appear to be inconvenienced.

The dart (ɔča'gu) for the blowgun is about 30 cm. long and 2 mm. thick. A twist of kapok, *sumakuma* (*Ceiba pentandra*), is rolled on at the rear end; below the point of the dart a small circular notch is cut so that the tip will break off in a wound.

The darts are kept in a long, small, cylindrical basket, *aljava* (yɔ:'ru), with a square bottom and a round mouth. The outside is covered with wax and has tied to it a small sack which contains kapok. The Tukuna do not attach the little curare container shown in Barbosa Rodrígues' plate, since, before leaving the house, they always poison the number of darts they calculate will be needed. They spread the poison on the tip of the dart with a small spatula, then lay the darts so treated

[16] Tessmann, p. 560.

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For the deer that invade the plantations, pitfalls (a:'maʲ) are dug to the depth of a meter and a half, a sharpened paxiuba stake being set vertically at the bottom. In a pitfall that I saw, a dog had died, and a few days later an alligator also fell into it. 224

Gathering

The gathering of wild fruits and the capture of animals that cannot properly be included under hunting are still carried on by both sexes; by men when the opportunity presents itself and by women on trips made for the purpose. 222 [462]

There are many varieties of edible wild fruits, although most have no economic importance, being no more than mere tidbits, like the pods of the *arara tucupy*, the seeds of which are covered with a thin layer of thick, sweet liquid. The only fruits of real economic importance are those of the four palms, burity (*Mauritia vinifera*), *bacabeira* (*Oenocarpus bacaba*), *patauá* (*Oenocarpus patauá*), and açahy (*Euterpe* sp.). All four species are common in the jungles of the Tukuna. During the period of gathering one always sees large earthenware vessels containing burity fruits soaked in a solution to make the rinds come off more easily, and the Indians constantly help themselves. The fruits of these four palms are then macerated in tepid water and a fatty drink is prepared by a process common among the Neobrazilians as well, the separation of the pulp from the stones by treading. The liquid is passed through a very fine sieve (va'iri-činʲ-ʲn, from va'ira, açahy). A sufficient quantity is then prepared so that the neighbors may be invited to drink also. The gathering of the fruits and the preparation of the beverage are feminine tasks. 222 824 262 [415] 272 [171] [462]

The Tukuna are acquainted with the Brazil nut, or niggertoe, *castanha do Pará* (*Bertholletia excelsa*), but they eat only the kernels without preparing from them either milk or oil. Nino, an Indian of Igarapé da Rita, had planted near his house about ten such saplings, which were then bearing fruit. 262 [245]

The Tukuna will not eat toads, though they do not reject various species of frogs; they also eat beetle larvae, which are found in burity palms, and the queens of *saúva* ants (i.g., *içá; Atta cephalotes*) when they are swarming. Of the various kinds of honey the most appreciated is that of the wild bee, jandaíra. Bees are not raised at home. [263]

Food

The most common food is fish, either boiled or freshly smoked and eaten with farinha (formerly with beijús). Seasoning is obtained by thrusting the fingertip into a small dish with crushed salt and pepper and then licking it. At present, the salt is bought from the Neobrazilians, but it is said that in the old days it was prepared from the ash from burned green marajá palm leaves. 262 [263] [459]

Of fish, the Indian takes only as much as he can swallow at one gulp, picking it, with a rapid pinch of the fingers, from the common receptacle. In consequence, the piece of fish shortly assumes such a tattered appearance that it looks like nothing more than a dog's dinner. 264

When there is roast game, no one cuts himself a large piece, but each in turn seizes the meat, tears off a chunk with the teeth, and tosses the remainder back

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leaves laid on the floor of the house. Dry, pulverized leaves (*manive*) of a certain kind of manioc are sprinkled on this dough, and banana leaves are placed on top. After two or three days, when the dough is uncovered, it is crusted over with a thick layer of white mould, in which may be seen the contours of the maniva leaves. The dough, which by now has a strong, sweet taste, is cut into strips and placed in a jar, where, little by little, it exudes a liquid that in color and taste somewhat resembles a bad port wine. In time this liquor becomes harsh, corrosive, and strongly intoxicating. At feasts it is served only in individual, small, long gourds and, since the available quantity is generally not great, only to persons of a certain distinction.

To prepare paiauarú proper, the women lift the dough from its storage place in the jar and, mixing it with water, strain it into another jar, from which it is dipped in gourds to serve the guests.

The preparation of beverages is an exclusively feminine task. Care is taken to prohibit a pregnant women from taking part, since her participation would ruin the product.

No one serves himself with his own hands except the women in charge of the jars. At all the celebrations there is a "server"—generally the uncle of the child or girl who is being feted or even a closer relative—whose function is to serve the full gourds to the guests, one by one, when they are seated, or to wait on them if while dancing they pass in front of the jars, thereby indicating their desire to drink. The supply of water for filtering drinks is also entrusted to the server.

To me paiauarú has a disagreeable taste of fermentation and rot, the fibers contained in it making it even more disgusting. The Indians, however, drink it with enormous satisfaction. Becoming drunk, as often happens, they vomit, wash the mouth with water, and continue to swill. If the beverage is to be kept in a "new" jar, used for the first time, they take care to call in the shaman, *pagé*, to remove with gestures any invisible substance that might blind those drinking from the container.

Besides these three beverages, there are still other fermented drinks, which are, however, rarely prepared, such as dẽdne-č|'| from cane (dẽ'dne) juice boiled and fermented in a jar; ui'-č|'|, a sort of chicha made from yam tubers; a drink made of crushed pineapple, which after two days in the jar becomes potent but is also taken unfermented as a refreshment; and another drink, pururu'ka, made from boiled and fermented bananas.

Many of the men are today greatly addicted to cane rum, *cazaça*, which they purchase or receive as "treats" in the Neobrazilian establishments. One of the axioms against which no one on the Solimões will argue is: "Sem cazaça o indio naõ trabalha" ("Without rum the Indian won't work"). The worst influence is naturally exercised by the sugar-cane establishments that have rum stills and where the work is done almost exclusively by Indians. Some owners purposely get the Indians drunk in order to facilitate their exploitation.

In Belém I saw the cashier of one place, an incorrigible sot, ply women and girls with rum merely because it gave him pleasure to seem them blind drunk. The itinerant peddlers, too, in order to persuade Indians for their own purposes, habitually initiate the haggling with a glass of rum. On the other hand, neither

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"Come up, come up!" screamed her companions. But she replied: "It is nothing. A thunderstorm is approaching." But when she still continued, a stronger clap of thunder was heard. Then, frightened, she attempted to get out of the clay pit, but the furious dyë'vaü seized her, pulled her to the bottom, and she was never seen again.

Ceramic technique.—The clay, at first a yellowish gray, is mixed with a large percentage of husk ash of the *caruipe* (T., pu'ru),[8] which gives it a darker color.

The potter works with the material on top of a wooden slab, on which is placed a round, green leaf of a sort of liana called ečï-pa'tį, one of the Menispermaceae. On the small base of all Tukuna vases one always notes the impressions of the leaf veins of this plant. After making this small, circular, bottom piece, the potter constructs the vase, raising the sides by laying hoops of clay one on top of the other and pressing them together with the fingers (pl. 7, *f*). The sides are then scraped

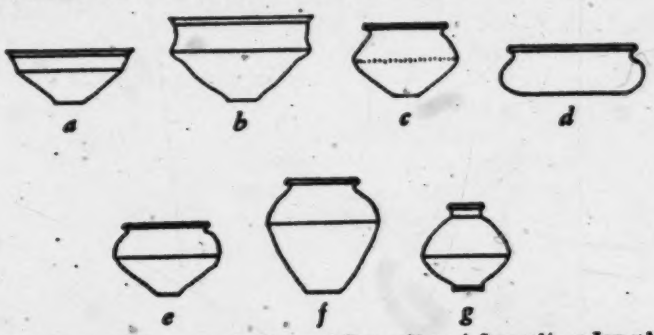

Fig. 8. Pottery. *a*, *b*. Large bowls, × 2/15. *c*, *d*. Pots, × 2/15. *e*, *f*. Jars, × 1/15. *g*. Jug, × 1/15.

to the desired thickness with a rectangular piece of gourd rounded at the corners, or with the plug of a snail shell, and the lip of the vase is smoothed with a piece of moistened fungus (*orelha de pau*).

The potter, coming to the widest part of the vase, props it up so that the still soft sides will not fall in through their own weight; she uses small supports of the frondstalk of the burity palm, or a hoop, with attached supports, made from a piece of the stalk. Propped up in this way, the piece is left to dry slowly in the shade. After the clay has become so firm that the shoring may be dispensed with, the surface of the piece is carefully polished with a seed stone of the anajá palm.

The ware is fired in the yard in an inverted position, covered with fine kindling and pieces of dry tree bark.

The pots (buetë'rë), when not completely lacking in decoration, show rows of impressions below the lip or at the point of greatest diameter (fig. 8, *c*, *d*). The plates and bowls, both called čuri in Tukuna, never have handles. Pots and igaçabas (T., barį', jars for fermented drinks) are almost always painted with a white or gray mineral base with the designs in red (urucú), which turns maroon after firing.

The water jugs, tę^{n}'į[9] (fig. 8, *g*; pl. 6, *b*), are globular or subglobular, with a short neck. The jars, which sometimes have a height of 80 cm. and an almost equal diameter, are conical in the lower part, subglobular in the upper. These are always

[9] *Licania scabra* Hook, a wood rich in silicate.

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292 776 532 ma'vi, the araparyrana tree. (Pl. 18, *b*.) The fruits of this tree have an odor and anciently had an agreeable taste, since lost because the culture hero *o'pi* dropped them into curare before leaving the earth. The costume of red or white tururí, which sometimes has sleeves but never trouser legs, covers the wearer from head to foot. The faceless head is conical and has on top a plume of tarumã stripe to the tips of which are attached small white placques of burity frond-stalks, rhomboid or divided, which represent the fruit of the araparyrana. The characteristic ornament of the costume consists of a painted, toothed], simple or double. A rod is carried in the right hand, while the left holds a long, slim bamboo whistle introduced into the mouth [534] through a small orifice in the tururí; today this whistle is almost always replaced by the long stem of a papaya leaf.

čavi', maize. (Pl. 17, *a*.) The outfit, of white tururí painted with vertical stripes, has no face, no arms, and no legs. The conical head ends in a tuft representing a corn tassel. Two imitations of ears of corn are attached to each side, one about the height of the elbow, the other just below.

tə̨', caiarára monkey (*Cebus albifrons*) (pl. 18, *a*) and taikɨrẽ', prego monkey (*Cebus fatuellus*) (pl. 18, *c*) are the two commonest types of costumes. Individually, the representation differs greatly, and in neither can one distinguish the animals whose names the represented demons bear, except that one or the other is shown with a phallus in the shape characteristic of the species. The faces are always diabolical; the garments, of red or white tururí, have no trouser legs and rarely have sleeves, the arms protruding through lateral openings.

292 [177] The imagination of the wearers has free play in the ornamental painting of the tururí, so that one observes modern airplanes represented side by side with traditional designs. These outfits are characterized by rattles suspended by wooden 293 [534] hooks, or on fantastically long and thick spears, or even on a smooth stick of wood 25 cm. in length by 2 cm. in diameter; with these the masqueraders rhythmically beat against the hooks. Once I saw nine of these masqueraders holding a log as thick as a man's arm horizontally before them, with which they beat out the measure. Another carried a handful of slim, pointed rods of anajá ribs or similar material, which he threw, two or three at a time, like assegais, against the wall of the girl's seclusion room, where they remained sticking. The spectators shouted for him to throw them at the figure of the deer painted on the wall.

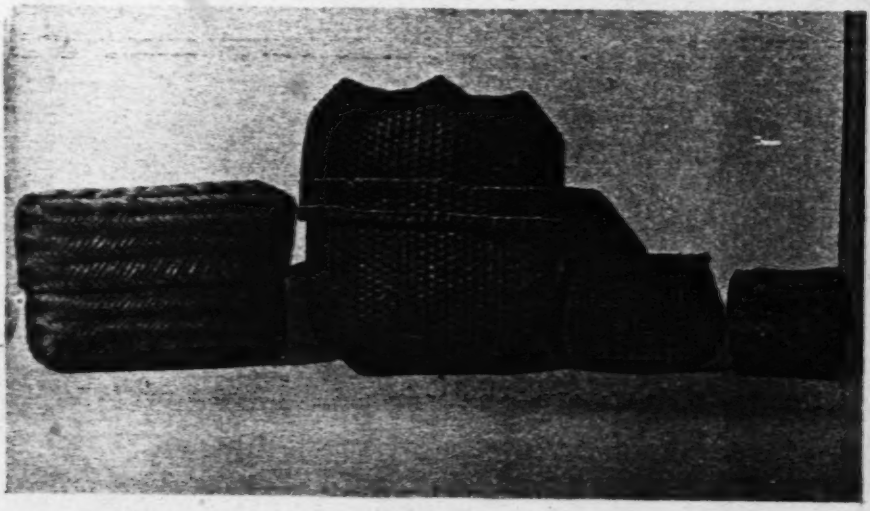
881 These tə̨' masqueraders always comport themselves in a very impetuous, cocky manner, beating on the house thatch before entering, and galloping furiously to and fro through the center of the festive house, with no regard for those who may be inside. After a while they present themselves in a threatening attitude before the jars, demanding drink, some of the tə̨' giving in exchange "their son" (pl. 16, *d*), a doll of tururí in more or less human form with a demon's face, which [524] is carried suspended from the backs and which after the feast serves as a plaything of the little girls.

[415] Those who have a face mask in one piece with the body costume drink by means of the tube of a papaya leafstalk. Afterward they again race off to disappear in the jungle, where they remove and store their masks; they never rest or sit down while in the house. As soon as a masked dancer, regardless of his type, enters the house, a few persons, sometimes even the owner or his wife, array themselves behind him and, holding on to his costume, accompany him in his mad career through the dwelling; to escort the taikɨrẽ' or tə̨' thus is no simple matter, but it forms the favorite entertainment of the older children of both sexes. Probably this is what Spix meant to show in his plate with the two little girls holding the fringes of the masquerader in front of the rest.

1: Nimuendajú E-5 (1941-1942) 1952

SQ20 Tucuna SQ20

285
415



a b c d

[142]
[56]

e

f

BASKETRY

1:Nimuendajú E-5 (1941-1942) 1952
SQ20 Tucuna SQ20

531
323
f. 415

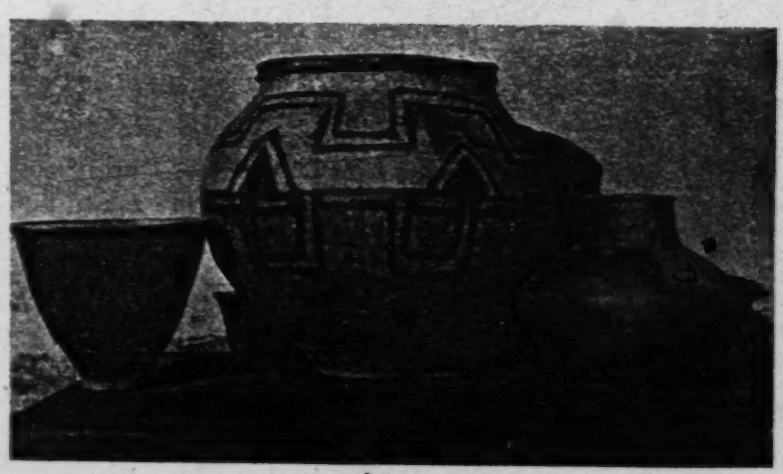
PLATE 6

Pottery. *a*. Vase used in thickening curare. *b*. Water jar. *c*. Jug with figure of frog in relief. *d*, *f*. Plates. *e*. Decorated vase for trifles. *g*. Small decorated vessels. *a–e*, × 1/6; *d–f*, × 1/4; *g*, × 1/5.

1: Nimuendajú E-5 (1941-1942) 1952

SQ20 Tucuna SQ20

323
531
415



a *b* *c*

d *e* *f*

[P.18]

g

POTTERY

2: Nimuendajú E-5 (1941-1942) 1948
SQ20 Tucuna SQ20

291 Men formerly wore a belt with one apron of turury inner bark in front and another behind. The penis was stuck under the belt. Women [174] perhaps at first went about entirely nude, but later adopted a short cloth of turury or of woven cotton, wrapped around the hips. Men wore 301 bracelets with long feathers and necklaces of teeth (pl. 65, *bottom*). At 292 feasts chiefs wore a cap of feathers mounted on a cotton or *Bromelia* net, or large diadems.

MANUFACTURES

532 **Bark cloth.**—Various masks and zoomorphic figures are made of bark 287 cloth (pl. 64).

285 **Basketry.**—Clothes baskets are made of uarumã stalks with a round opening closed with a lid. Four points are drawn up and down over the lid and the bottom, the latter serving as legs. Other baskets have a flat square lid and bottom. Both types of baskets are made in all sizes, from 2 to 16 inches (4 to 40 cm.) in diameter. Burdens are carried [482] in large conical baskets hexagonally woven of liana, or in cylindrical baskets of uarumã stalks. These are supported by an embira-fiber tumpline. The *Tucuna* also use pouches of looped tucum threads.

323 **Pottery.**—Women and sometimes men still make bowls, dishes, pans, [531] and pots of clay, which are decorated with painted or modeled ornaments. [776] Potter's clay is gathered according to certain rules so as not to anger its owner, a water demon who appears in the shape of the western rainbow.

415 **Gourds.**—Gourds are covered with a black lacquer, and may bear de- 531 signs in indelible red pigment. Wooden spoons are carved, sometimes in fantastic shapes.

411 **Weapons.**—The bow is 6½ feet (2 m.) long with the ends notched to hold the string. It is now rare, even as a fishing weapon. The hunting arrow has a poisoned wooden head and feathering of the arched type. Arrows are 5 feet 4 inches (1⅗ m.) long. Spears have three types of points: (1) a poisoned, wooden point with four corners; (2) an iron point; and (3) a plain pointed stick. The last two are still used to hunt jaguars and peccaries. The *Tucuna* blowgun is over 10 feet (3 m.) long, and the darts 1 foot (30 cm.) long. The poison [278] is the most effective of any made in the Amazon Basin, but its manu- [178] facture, which requires much time and care, is now being forgotten. [231] Hunting dogs, which are of little use, are, according to tradition, pre- [173] Columbian.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

181 The *Tucuna* are industrious and hard working, kind to their friends, honest, patient, and hospitable. But they are more liable than other Indians [762] to great outbursts of sudden anger, a trait which sometimes leads them to suicide. This is a manifestation of their individualism and desire to live

5: Bates N-5 (1848-1859) 1892
SQ20 Tucuna SQ20

a chief of more or less influence, according to his energy and ambition, and possessing its pajé or medicine man, who fosters its superstitions; but they are much more idle and debauched than other Indians belonging to the superior tribes. They are not so warlike and loyal as the Mundurucús, although resembling them in many respects, nor have they the slender figures, dignified mien, and gentle disposition of the Passés; there are, however, no trenchant points of difference to distinguish them from these highest of all the tribes. Both men and women are tattooed, the pattern being sometimes a scroll on each cheek, but generally rows of short straight lines on the face. Most of the older people wear bracelets, anklets, and garters of tapir-hide or tough bark; in their homes they wear no other dress except on festival days, when they ornament themselves with feathers or masked cloaks made of the inner bark of a tree. They were very shy when I made my first visits to their habitations in the forest, all scampering off to the thicket when I approached, but on subsequent days they became more familiar, and I found them a harmless, good-natured people.

A great part of the horde living at the first Maloca or village dwell in a common habitation, a large oblong hut built and arranged inside with such a disregard of all symmetry, that it appeared as though constructed by a number of hands, each working independently, stretching a rafter or fitting in a piece of thatch, without reference to what his fellow-labourers were doing. The walls as well as the roof are covered with thatch of palm-leaves; each piece consisting of leaflets plaited and attached in a row to a lath many feet in length. Strong upright posts support the roof, hammocks being slung between them, leaving a free space for passage and for fires in the middle, and on one side is an elevated stage (*girao*) overhead, formed of split palm-stems. The Tucúnas excel most of the other tribes in the manufacture of pottery. They make broad-mouthed jars, for Tucupí sauce, caysúma or mandioca beer, capable of holding twenty or more gallons, ornamenting them outside with crossed diagonal streaks of various colours. These jars, with cooking-pots, smaller jars for holding water, blow-pipes, quivers, matirí bags* full of small articles, baskets, skins of animals, and so forth, form the principal part of the furniture of their huts, both large and small. The dead bodies of their chiefs are interred, the knees doubled up, in large jars under the floors of their huts.

The semi-religious dances and drinking bouts usual amongst the settled tribes of Amazonian Indians are indulged in to greater excess by the Tucúnas than they are by most other tribes. The Juruparí or Demon is the only superior being they have any conception of, and his name is mixed up with all their ceremonies, but it is difficult to ascertain what they consider to be his attributes. He seems to be believed in simply as a mischievous imp, who is at the bottom of all those mishaps

* These bags are formed of remarkably neat twine made of Bromelia fibres elaborately knitted, all in one piece, with sticks; a belt of the same material, but more closely woven, being attached to the top to suspend them by. They afford good examples of the mechanical ability of these Indians. The Tucúnas also possess the art of skinning and stuffing birds, the handsome kinds of which they sell in great numbers to passing travellers.